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NODIS
FOR EMBASSY AT CAPE TOWN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR AO RH ZA US

SUBJECT: CHONA MEETING WITH SECRETARY

1. SUMMARY: SECRETARY AND MARK CHONA, POLITICAL ADVISOR TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA, MET FOR ONE HOUR ON FEBRUARY 5. ENTIRE CONVERSATION RELATED TO PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. WHILE EXPRESSING CONCERN ABOUT SITUATION IN ANGOLA, INCLUDING HEAVY SOVIET AND CUBAN PRESENCE THERE, CHONA MADE PLEA FOR ACTIVE AND "ESSENTIAL" U.S. SUPPORT FOR ATTAINING INDEPENDENCE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS RATHER THAN ARMED STRUGGLE IN ORDER PREVENT REPETITION OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN ANGOLA. HE CONVEYED KAUNDA'S HOPE THAT U.S. WOULD (A) MAKE DIRECT APPROACH TO SMITH RE NEED FOR PROMPT SETTLEMENT OF RHODESIAN QUESTION AND (B) URGE VORSTER TO MOVE ON NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE ALONG LINES UN RESOLUTION. SECRETARY SAID USG WOULD CAREFULLY CONSIDER KAUNDA'S VIEWS AND EXPLORE POSSIBILITY OF COMMUNICATING WITH SMITH. SECRETARY BELIEVED IF HE WERE TO MAKE STATEMENT IN
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AFRICA DURING VISIT HE HOPED TO MAKE IN LATE MARCH OR

EARLY APRIL, HIS VIEWS WOULD HAVE MUCH GREATER IMPACT AND BE MORE USEFUL. END SUMMARY.

2. CHONA EXTENDED KAUNDA'S GREETINGS TO SECRETARY AND DELIVERED TO HIM LETTER FROM KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT FORD,

WHICH WAS REPLY TO PRESIDENT'S EARLIER LETTER ON ANGOLA. (TEXT OF KAUNDA LETTER BEING CABLED SEPTEL.)

3. ANGOLA. CHONA REGRETTED THAT SITUATION IN ANGOLA SEEMED TO BE TURNING LIBERATION STRUGGLE INTO A PROBLEM OF IDEOLOGY. SOVIETS HAVE BEEN HELPFUL IN PAST IN ASSISTING AFRICAN COUNTRIES ATTAIN INDEPENDENCE, BUT THEY ARE NOW STAYING ON IN ANGOLA AFTER INDEPENDENCE TO SPREAD THEIR IDEOLOGY. ZAMBIA BELIEVES IF THIS SITUATION CAN HAPPEN IN ANGOLA, IT CAN HAPPEN IN OTHER COUNTRIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. RESULT WOULD BE SERIOUS SECURITY PROBLEM FOR ENTIRE AREA. THEREFORE, IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO LOOK AT ANGOLA, BUT WE MUST ANTICIPATE SOVIET AND CUBAN MOVES IN OTHER PLACES AND MAKE THEIR PRESENCE UNNECESSARY. SECRETARY SAID THAT U.S. WILL NOT TOLERATE ANOTHER MASSIVE CUBAN MOVE.

4. CHONA MADE POINT THAT FACT SIERRA LEONE AND CAMEROON HAVE CHANGED THEIR POSITION RE MPLA DOES NOT CHANGE SOLUTION TO PROBLEM. ONLY ANSWER IS GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION. ZAMBIA IS NOT OPPOSED TO MPLA, BUT THERE ARE NO LEGITIMATE GROUNDS FOR EXCLUDING OTHER FACTIONS FROM GOVERNMENT, ESPECIALLY UNITA WHICH HAS SO MUCH POPULAR SUPPORT.

5. TWO ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES TOWARD INDEPENDENCE. CHONA CALLED THESE THE OLD AND NEW STRATEGIES. OLD STRATEGY IS INDEPENDENCE THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE ACCOMPANIED BY TOUGH RESOLUTIONS AND CONFRONTATION IN UN. RHODESIAN GUERRILLAS ARE POISED IN MOZAMBIQUE READY TO RENEW WARFARE AGAINST RHODESIA. IF ARMED STRUGGLE IS NECESSARY, HELP WILL BE SOUGHT FROM ANYONE AND IT WILL HAVE TO BE ACCEPTED. AS IN PAST, USSR AND CHINA WILL BE MOST RESPONSIVE.

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6. IT NOW IN ZAMBIAN AS WELL AS US INTEREST, CHONA CONTENDED, TO GET RID OF OLD STRATEGY AND PURSUE NEW, PEACEFUL STRATEGY; OTHERWISE PROBLEMS WE ARE NOW FACING IN ANGOLA WILL SPREAD. SUPPORTERS FOR NEW STRATEGY MUST BE FOUND AND LINE OF ACTION DETERMINED. HE EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF USG'S PARTICIPATION IN CONCERTED ACTION ON NEW STRATEGY. PEACEFUL STRATEGY MUST BE APPLIED IN

RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, CHONA EMPHASIZED, SO THERE WILL BE NO NEED FOR USSR OR CUBA TO ASSIST IN LIBERATION OF THESE COUNTRIES.

7. RHODESIA. IF US AGREES WITH PEACEFUL STRATEGY, KAUNDA HAS ASKED THAT USG TAKE FOLLOWING ACTIONS RE RHODESIA:

A) REAFFIRM TOTAL US COMMITMENT TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA, EVEN IF THIS INVOLVES ONLY TELLING SMITH THAT HIS INACTION WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO SOVIET INTERVENTION AND THUS CREATE ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS FOR ENTIRE AREA OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

B) SEND A DIRECT MESSAGE TO SMITH TO AVERT ESCALATION OF WAR IN RHODESIA. CHONA CLAIMED THAT SMITH BOUND TO LOSE IN THIS TYPE OF WAR BECAUSE OF LARGE NUMBER OF GUERRILLAS EQUIPPED WITH MODERN SOVIET ARMS. HE STRESSED NEED TO ACT QUICKLY.

C) TELL SMITH TO BRING NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ARE GOING ON IN RHODESIA TO PROMPT AND FAVORABLE CONCLUSION; OTHERWISE AFRICANS WILL ACCUSE SMITH OF PLAYING FOR TIME AND GUERRILLA WARFARE WILL BE RENEWED.

D) US SHOULD SUPPORT NKOMO SINCE HE IS ONLY RHODESIAN WORKING FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION, AND HIS CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS TAKE BASIC INTERESTS OF WHITES FULLY INTO ACCOUNT. ALTHOUGH NKOMO HAS BEEN SUPPORTED BY USSR, HE WILL NEVER BE SOVIET MAN. CHONA ADDED THAT MOZAMBIQUE HAS TRADITIONALLY SUPPORTED NKOMO, AND MOZAMBIKAN AND OTHER EXTERNAL AFRICAN LEADERS WILL DO SO AGAIN IF NKOMO SUCCEEDS WITH SMITH ON PEACEFUL BASIS. MOREOVER, IF
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SMITH ACTS QUICKLY, MOZAMBIQUE AND ZAMBIA WILL STOP GUERRILLAS FROM ATTACKING. IN SUM, IF US VALUES PEACEFUL STRATEGY, IT SHOULD SHOW MORE DIRECT INTEREST IN NKOMO'S EFFORTS.

8. NAMIBIA. CHONA CONVEYED KAUNDA'S APPRECIATION FOR US POLICY TOWARD NAMIBIA INCLUDING US POSITION AT RECENT SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. IT NOW DESIRABLE FOR USG TO EXPRESS ITS COMMITMENT FOR PROGRAM OF IMPLEMENTING UN RESOLUTION. ZAMBIA HOPED USG WOULD TELL SOUTH AFRICA TO SPEED UP PROCESS OF GRANTING INDEPENDENCE TO NAMIBIA AND HELP WORK OUT INDEPENDENCE FORMULA BASED ON A UNITARY STATE. BALKANIZATION, HE ADDED, WILL LEAD TO OUTSIDE INTERVENTION ALONG LINES OF ANGOLA. CHONA THOUGHT US COULD HELP COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA ESTABLISH

DIRECT LINE OF COMMUNICATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA. FINAL-
LY, CHONA URGED THAT US GET CLOSER TO SWAPO AND THAT WE
HELP PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA TO RECOGNIZE EXISTENCE OF
SWAPO AND ACCEPT IT AS POLITICAL FORCE IN NAMIBIA.
SOUTH AFRICANS SHOULD THINK IN TERMS OF PARTY AND NOT OF
SAM NUJOMA AS INDIVIDUAL.

9. IN CONCLUDING, CHONA STATED HIS MAIN MISSION WAS
TO GET CONCRETE COMMITMENT FROM SECRETARY FOR CONCERTED

ACTION ON PEACEFUL PROGRAM WHICH WOULD EFFECTIVELY KEEP
USSR AND CUBA FROM FURTHER DISRUPTIVE ACTION IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA.

10. SECRETARY THANKED CHONA FOR ZAMBIAN VIEWS. HE EX-
PRESSED HOPE THAT HE COULD VISIT AFRICA, WITH STOP IN
ZAMBIA, IN LATE MARCH OR EARLY APRIL AND PERHAPS MAKE
STATEMENT ON THAT OCCASION SINCE IT WOULD HAVE MUCH
GREATER IMPACT IF MADE IN AFRICA THAN IF MADE HERE. IN
MEANTIME USG WILL EXPLORE THE QUESTION OF COMMUNICATING
WITH SMITH. CHONA SAID ZAMBIA COULD BE HELPFUL IN DE-
LIVERING ANY MESSAGE TO SMITH IF USG SO DESIRED.

11. SECRETARY TOLD CHONA THAT HE ADMIRER KAUNDA'S
EFFORTS AND WAS LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING HIM AND DIS-
CUSSING WITH HIM WHAT US MIGHT USEFULLY DO SHOULD WE
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DECIDE TO BE MORE ACTIVE IN AFRICA. SECRETARY ASKED
CHONA TO TELL KAUNDA THAT US WILL CONTINUE TO OPPOSE
SOVIET AND CUBAN ROLE IN AFRICA.

COMMENT: CHONA AND HIS ZAMBIAN COLLEAGUES WERE HIGHLY
PLEASED WITH AMOUNT OF TIME AND ATTENTION WHICH SECRE-
TARY, SISCO AND AF OFFICIALS DEVOTED TO THEM. SECRE-
TARY'S MEETING FOLLOWED LUNCHEON HOSTED
BY SISCO. SUBSEQUENT TO MEETING WITH SECRETARY CHONA
AND ZAMBIAN AMBASSADORS TO US AND UN HAD USEFUL TALKS
WITH SCHAUFLE AND AF OFFICIALS. WE WILL BE REPORT-
ING THESE MEETINGS SEPARATELY. SISCO

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